

THE TĀTI DIALECT OF KAJAL

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KAJALI is a Tāti dialect spoken in at least two, and possibly more, villages in Khalkhāl, the south-eastern province of Persian Āzarbāijān. Kajal, the main village where this dialect is spoken, lies in Kāghaz-konān, the south-western district of Khalkhāl, and has a population of over 400 persons, who live mainly by cultivating cereals (particularly wheat and barley), growing fruit, and keeping a small number of farm animals. Most of the Kajali men go to Tālesh, the Caspian province east of Khalkhāl, during the winter to work, and return for the summer.

It was during the summer of 1958, in the Asālem district of Tālesh, while collecting some material on the southern Tālesi dialects, that I met ‘Abdur-Rahmān Jabaruti, a 27-year-old native of Kajal. He was the only Kajali man left in Asālem, all the others having returned to their village. Though he, too, was about to leave, he agreed to postpone his departure in order to enable me to obtain some information on his dialect. I worked with him for about eight hours in all. He had lived in Kajal all his life, except for the winters of the past few years, which he had spent in Asālem with his uncle, who had lived in Tālesh for over 30 years and whom I met, but whose Kajali dialect I could hardly trust.

According to Jabaruti, the only other village where his dialect is spoken is Ālādin (‘Alā’ud-Din), a small village in the Senjebed district of Khalkhāl not far from Kajal.¹ This village is populated by 28 families who moved there from Kajal some 20 years ago. Kajal and Ālādin belong to a small group of Sunni villages surrounded by Shiite communities. The relative isolation imposed by this religious difference may partly explain the survival of the Iranian dialect of Kajal. However, Turkish has been constantly gaining, and in most of these villages has already replaced Tāti. The religious situation also explains, in part, the close ties between Kajal and Asālem, where the majority of people are Sunni Muslims.

This Sunni community of Tāti speakers seems to be entirely divorced from the Tāti speakers of Shāhrud, the eastern district of Khalkhāl, whose dialect I have described in an earlier paper.² My Shāhrudi informants had no knowledge of the Tāti speakers of Kajal, nor was my Kajali informant aware of any other Tāti-speaking community. Some radical divergences of the two dialects are symptomatic of this lack of contact in more recent times.

The main differences between Shāhrudi³ and Kajali may be summed up as follows :

¹ A. A. Karang, however, in a short article ‘Khalkhāli, yek lahje az Āzari’, *Jahān-e Akhlāq* (Tabriz), 1335 [1956], 82 ff. (the offprints bear the date 1334), mentions three more villages where, he thinks, Kajali is ‘well known’.

² ‘The dialect of Shāhrud (Khalkhāl)’, *BSOAS*, xxii, 1, 1959, 52 ff.

³ By Shāhrudi here is meant only the dialects of Shāl and Kulur, so far studied. I shall use Shāh. for Shāhrudi and Kaj. for Kajali, S. Tāt. for Tāti dialects spoken to the south of Qazvin, i.e. Tākestāni, Čāli, Eštehardi, Sagz-ābādi, and Ebrāhim-ābādi, and Tāl. for Tālesi.

(a) In phonology: Kaj. *ž* (< *j*-), as in Tāl., against Shāh. *z*, e.g. *žana* 'wife', Shāh. *zan*.¹

(b) In morphology: (i) Kaj. distinguishes a masculine and a feminine gender, as in S. Tāt., against the lack of such distinction in Shāh.; (ii) Kaj. keeps the distinction between the direct and oblique cases also in the plural, as in Čāli and Eštehardi, while Shāh. has this distinction only in the singular; (iii) Kaj. has *-i* as the enclitic form of the second person singular present of the verb 'to be', and as the preterite and imperfect endings for the same person, against Shāh. *-iš*; (iv) the imperfect of Shāh., based on the present stem,² is unknown to Kaj., while the use of the prefix *m(e)-* for the Present Indicative and the Imperfect is alien to Shāh.; (v) the Kaj. Passive Participle based on the present stem, and the Future Participle in *-in*, do not occur in Shāh. (see below).

(c) In syntax: Kaj. seems to make more frequent use of the enclitic pronouns as possessive pronouns than does Shāh. Generally, the syntactical rules, dominated by the 'passive' construction in both dialects, are almost identical.

(d) The lexical differences between Shāh. and Kaj., although quite appreciable,³ are less pronounced than those between Kaj. and S. Tāt. The difference in some preverbs accounts for some divergences in verbal stems. I have not met any instance of *ara-* in Shāh. (Kaj. *ara-gi* 'take!, buy!'), nor instances of the preverbs *da-* and *pa-* in Kaj. (Shāli *pa-gi* 'take!, lift!', *da-runtan* 'to pull').⁴

PHONOLOGY⁵

Kajali phonemes appear to be the following:

<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>h</i>
<i>v</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>		[<i>ɣ</i>]
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			
	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>		
<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		
<i>i</i>	[I]	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>
		<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>u</i>
				[ü]

CONSONANTS. The voiceless plosives are mildly aspirated [**p'**, **t'**, **k'**], the aspiration being weaker in final position. *c* and *j* are palatal affricates. *k* and *g*

¹ On the marked predilection of Kaj. for the *h* sound see below.

² See Yarshater, *op. cit.*, 60.

³ cf., e.g., Kaj. *dada* 'father', *nana* 'mother', *beräläg* 'brother', *howlig* 'sister', with Shāh. *pe*, *mā*, *berā*, *xāv*; *gola*, an enumerator, is not used in Kaj.; *azi* 'I' (beside *az*) is a Kaj. peculiarity.

⁴ *a-* and *ā-* are the most frequently used preverbs in both dialects, as well as in S. Tāt. and Tāl.; cf. B. V. Miller, *Tališskiy yazık*, Moscow, 1953, 135 ff., and Yarshater, *op. cit.*, 61.

⁵ My conclusions are based on limited texts. Much of the short time at my disposal was spent in eliciting examples to clarify the distinction of gender in the dialect. Therefore, it is with due reservation that I present this grammatical sketch.

are velar. In *agam* 'awake', *g* varies with [ɣ], a voiced post-velar fricative.¹ *ž*, a voiced palatal fricative, is in some words produced as *ẓ̌*, a sound between *z* and *ž*: *žan* 'woman', 'be-žan' 'hit!'. In *ruj* 'day', and its compounds, *j* frequently alternates with *ẓ̌*.

h, a phoneme much more frequent in this dialect than in any other known Tāti dialect, weakens before a consonant and may disappear altogether, e.g. *mō(h)sem* 'I sleep'. *l* is slightly palatal. *r* is a weakly rolled apico-alveolar trill. *y* appears, as far as my notes show, only postvocally: *deyan* 'to give', *miāyām* 'we come', *vāyām* 'almond', *age be-bašāy* 'if I become'. *w* does not occur except, as in Persian, after *o*: *howlig* 'sister', *māgow* 'cow'.²

VOWELS. *i* is almost cardinal. A more open variety of this vowel [ɪ, e] is met in ['ɪm] 'this', ['ɪmæ] 'this (F)', [ɪn'dʒa] *injā* 'here', ['ɪndʒim] 'this one', [kɪl'ɪg] 'girl', [hou'ɪg] 'sister', [xæso'ɪg] 'wife's mother', [zæɪ'lɪk] 'boy'.³

e, a front mid vowel, varies somewhat according to its context. In the vicinity of nasals it sounds more central [ə]; [zɔ'nəgəm] *zānegem* 'my knee'.

a is an open front vowel [æ], less spread in final position; in *caman* 'my, mine' it is often pronounced [tʃe'mæn].

ā is an open, near-back vowel, with lips neutral or slightly rounded, generally more rounded in post-labial and pre-nasal position [ɑ, ɔ].

o is almost cardinal. It is less open when followed by *w*: *howlig* 'sister', *gow* 'cow'. It is somewhat more open in final syllables before nasals (< -ā-): *vargon* 'wolves (obl.)', *bātešon* 'they said', *kerom* 'which?', -*om* '1st pl. Present Indicative ending', etc.

ö is a rounded front vowel [ø]: *höröta* 'sold', *hördan* 'child', *dö* 'two', *bövrām* 'weep!', *hörd(e)mörd* 'clothes'. In some cases optional rounding of *e* results in free variation between the two vowels: ⁴ *bēhös* 'sleep!', *ešte-ra*, *ēštē-ra* ⁵ 'for thee'.

u is cardinal. A more central form of *u* [ü] is met in a number of words: [dʒütz] *jüz* 'walnut', *tü* (beside *tö*) 'thou', ['büdufa] *büdušā* 'milk ye!'. As far as my limited texts are able to show it does not contrast with *u*, and I hardly think it to be a separate phoneme.

Length in vowels is not significant. *a* and *ö* may be lengthened to compensate for the loss of [h, v] or [ʔ]: *šarr* 'town' (< *šahr*), *darvā* 'quarrel' (< *da'vā*), *möse* 'he sleeps' (< *möh(ö)se*), *nö(ɪ)ramestā* 'she did not weep'

¹ This variation may be a matter of personal preference. Karang, op. cit., has *ghūjd* (*yūzd*), *maghu*, *ghanšar*, against my *gužd* 'meat', *māgow* 'cow', *gonšār* 'before, earlier'. In Tāti of Tākestān, likewise, some speakers use [ɣ] for *g* in a number of words, e.g. *mojo bešem* 'I want to go'.

² *y* and *w* glides are heard whenever *i* and *u* are followed by another vowel, since the dialect does not tolerate hiatus: *amieyron* (-*iyey*-) 'you have come', *cuār* (-*uwā*-) 'four'.

³ As I have given all the words in my texts where [ɪ] occurs, I shall write *i* for [ɪ] henceforth. Further investigation may prove [ɪ] to be a separate phoneme.

⁴ Where it has been possible to observe such variation I write *ē*, which indicates 'e or ö'.

⁵ Probably under the influence of *tö* 'thou'.

(< *-vram-*). Phonemically [æ:] and [ø:] may be treated as *ah* and *öh* respectively, but to avoid confusion I shall write *ax* and *öx* in such cases. *o* and *e* are lengthened as a result of the weakening or loss of following *w* and *y* respectively: *hor^wlig* 'sister', *bebe^wm* 'I became'.¹

The stress accent is distinctive on the morphological level only, e.g. *be'she* 'he went', 'beše 'go!'.

Length in consonants is fairly frequent, e.g. *katto* 'village headman', *appāra* 'last year', *akkat* 'fell'.

PHONETIC DEVELOPMENT. In its broad outline the phonetic development of Kajali resembles that of Shāhrudi.²

OIr. *v-* is preserved: *veyv* 'bride', *vak* 'kidney', *vāyām* 'almond'. Intervocalic *-v-* is either lost or replaced by an intrusive *h*: *b(e)hāt*, *bāt* 'he said', *mājende* 'they say' (< **vac-*), *behinde* 'he saw' (< *vind-* < *vain-*), *migaham* 'I want to' (< **gav-*).

Of OIr. *y-*, which is generally preserved in Tāti and Tāleši, I met no instances (*jav* 'barley' is probably a loanword).

OIr. *t* is preserved initially and after sibilants: *tō* 'thou', *āstāra* 'star', *me-hešte* 'he used to get up' (< **haiz-*). The change of postvocalic *-t-* to *-r-* is seen in *kerom* 'which?', and in the enclitic pronoun for the second person singular and plural: *kerom var-er* 'which side of thee?', *be-pat-iron* 'you cooked'.³ Otherwise OIr. intervocalic *-t-* disappears, or is reduced to a glide, e.g. *ka* 'house', *deyan* 'to give', *žeyār* 'one who hits' (cf. MPers. *zatār*), *vāyām* 'almond', *viarda* 'past'.

OIr. *dv-* is represented by *b-* in *bar* 'door'.

-x- and *-f-* disappear before *t* (examples mainly in verbal past stems): *patan* 'to cook', *gatan* 'to take', *vatan* 'to weave', *hōtan* 'to sleep'. As in Shāh., *-f-* disappears before the *s* of the inchoative present: *mō:se* 'he sleeps', *kus-/kwest-* 'to beat, thrash'.

OIr. *s* (OP *θ*, NPers. *h*) is preserved in *pas* 'sheep'. Original *su* (Av. *sp*, OP *s*) is seen as *sb* in *esbe* 'dog', *esbi* 'white' (with prothetic vowel).

OIr. *z* (IE *ǵ*, *ǵh*, OP *d*) appears as *z*, as elsewhere: *azira* 'yesterday' (cf. Shāh. *zer*, NPers. *di*), *az(i)* 'I', *bězānesteš* 'he realized'.

The clusters *-rz-* and *-rt-* are preserved as *-rz-* and *-rd-* respectively in *marze* 'he lets' and *pard* 'bridge' (Av. *pərətū-*), while *-rd-* has become *-l-* in *vel* 'flower'.

Kaj., like Tāl., has *ž-* for original *j-*: *žana* 'wife', *be-žanā* 'hit ye!'.

OIr. intervocalic *-c-* is represented by *j*: *māje* 'he says', *paje* 'he cooks', *bomijā* 'let him learn' (< **uc-*), *mivrije* 'he runs'.⁴

¹ *o:* and *e:*, therefore, may be treated as variants of the normal *ow* and *ey*.

² cf. Yarshater, op. cit., 56 ff.

³ We may have another instance of this rhotacism in *zāron* obl. pl. of *zā* 'son' (< **zāta-*). However, since *r* is also used as an intervocalic intrusive glide, this may be doubted (cf., e.g., *injā-r-im* 'I am here').

⁴ *ruj* 'day' alternates with *ruž* in Jabaruti's dialect (a Tāleši influence?). His uncle had *ruž* only.

Kaj. shows a marked predilection for *h*: *hara* 'ass' (< *x*-), *heriār* 'buyer' (< *xrī*-, Skt. *krī*-), *mehešte* 'he used to get up' (< **haiz*-, cf. *meyze* 'he gets up'), *hōtan* 'to sleep' (< *xv*-, Skt. *svap*-), *hardan* 'to eat', *howlig* 'sister' (cf. Av. *xvaŋhar*-), *hōrōtan* 'to sell' (< *fra-vaxš*-), (*h*)*ara* 'to-morrow' (< **fra-tāk*); in a number of words it replaces a lost *v* (see above); note also *āhel* 'wise' (< Pers.-Ar. 'āqel).

In its treatment of vowels Kaj. shows the same traits as Shāh. The distinction between the old diphthongs *au* and *ai* and old *ū* and *ī* respectively is lost: *i* 'one', *esbi* 'white', *duru* 'a lie'.

Intrusive and prothetic vowels are not rare, e.g. *berālēg* 'brother', *esbe* 'dog', *duru* 'a lie'. The vowels of the verbal prefixes *be*-, *me*-, and *ne*- are often influenced by following sounds: *bi-vrite* 'he ran', *bō-hös* 'go to sleep!', *bü-dušā* 'milk ye!'.

MORPHOLOGY

NOUNS

Gender. Kaj., like S. Tāt. and unlike Shāh. and N. Tāl., distinguishes a masculine and a feminine gender, extended to inanimate objects. Further, it has preserved a two-case system, direct and oblique, both in singular and plural, with the following endings: ¹

	Direct	Oblique
Masc. Sg.	—	-e
Fem. Sg.	-a	-e, -a
Masc. and Fem. Pl.	-e	-on

Hasan beša 'Hasan went', *Hasan-e pul bedehiste* 'money was given to Hasan'; *karg-a bomia* 'the hen came', ² *karg-e gandem-eš behard* 'the hen ate wheat'; *pas-e o asb-e harruĵa mišin(d) ku* 'the sheep (F) and the horses (M) go every day to the pasture (lit., the mountain)', *pas-on o asb-on vāš bediā* 'give grass to the sheep and the horses'. If an enclitic pronoun or the suffix *-i* 'a, one' is attached to a noun the Sg. and Dir. Pl. endings follow it: *berālēg-em behešta* 'my brother got up', *howlig-em-a beheštā* 'my sister got up'; *zā-m-e o det-em-e injā niende* 'my sons and daughters are not here'; *i sar-i peydā bebe* 'a head appeared', *i dast-i-a peydā bebiā* 'a hand (F) appeared'. In the obl. case of the plural, however, the plural ending precedes: *zār-on-em o howli-on-em gužd beharde* 'my sons and sisters ate meat'.

One of the distinctive features of Kaj. is that the distinction of gender is extended to the third person singular of not only the Preterite but all tenses of both transitive and intransitive verbs, whether based on the past participle or the present stem (trans. verbs in the past following the gender of the logical

¹ In these endings, as well as in concord of nouns with their numerals, Kaj. agrees almost entirely with Čāli.

² However, not all words ending in *-a* are Fem.; cf. *suka'la* 'rooster', *xaso'ra* 'wife's father' (*xasori(g)* 'wife's mother'); but note that in these examples *-a*, unlike the Fem. ending, is stressed.

object).¹ The distinction must have spread from the Preterite, where the third person singular was in origin a verbal adjective (past participle). Examples : *dada-m meyze* 'my father gets up', *nana-m meyzia* 'my mother gets up'; *bāj beši* (subj.) 'tell (him to) go', *bāj bešia* 'tell (her to) go'; *berālĕg-em behešta* 'my brother got up', *howliĕg-em-a beheštā* 'my sister got up'²; *mardak-i žaneg-i-a behindā* 'a man saw a woman' (for Masc., *behind(e)*); *javāher-a sonđoq-a agiristā, avrāz bākr(e)nistā*,³ *beyna bebaristā* 'the jewel-box (F) was seized, pulled up, (and) carried out'; *ajua vendarda biā* 'she was standing there'.

Number. A noun qualified by a numeral higher than 'one' is put in the plural : *mardak-i žaneg-i-a behindā* 'a man saw a woman',⁴ *dō žaneg-e bend* 'there were two women', *dō-š berālĕg-e bend se howli-e* 'he had two brothers (and) three sisters', *sad pas-e panj māgow-e cuar gow-š-e bend* 'he had a hundred sheep, five cows, (and) four oxen'.

Cases. As already mentioned, Kaj. uses two cases, direct and oblique. The direct case expresses also the logical direct object of a trans. verb in the past, and an indefinite direct object of the present tenses. The oblique case expresses, as in Shāh. :

(i) A definite direct object : *aja žaneg-e bežanā* 'beat ye that woman'⁵ (cf. *pas-on vāš bediā* 'give grass to the sheep');

(ii) a genitive, which precedes the noun it qualifies : *hōrdan-e nana* 'the child's mother', *šet-e tuk* 'cream of milk';

(iii) an indirect object (often followed by a postposition) : *bešeme hakim-e var-ku* 'I went to the doctor', *hōrdan-e-sar-da* 'because of a child', *bar-e-paš-ku* 'from behind the door'⁶;

(iv) the agent of a trans. verb in a past tense : *Hasan-e howli-š-a kābin be-kard-e* 'Hasan married his (Mohammad's) sister', *varg-on pas-e behardend* 'the wolves ate the sheep'. The agent of such verbs is often expressed by an enclitic pronoun : *eštē-rā-m āvarde* 'I have brought it for you', *age vinda-r be* 'if thou hadst seen'.

PRONOUNS

Like Shāh., Kaj. uses four forms of the personal pronouns : a *direct* and an *oblique* form proper, a *possessive* form and, finally, an *enclitic* form appearing only in oblique function.

¹ In compound tenses the auxiliary shows the gender.

² cf. the irregular pairs : *beše* 'he went', *bešō* 'she went'; *bebe/bebiā* 'he/she was'; further cf. *came-rā i quc-i este* 'I have a ram', *came-rā i pas-i-a estā* 'I have a sheep'.

³ In this verb *r* is often syllabic : Imp. *bāk(e)r(e)n !*, Pret. Sg. 1. *bākerim* (NPers. equivalent *kašidan*).

⁴ The suffix *-i* serves as the indefinite article. It is attached to the noun, which may be preceded by *i* 'one' : *sar-i* 'a head', *i dast-i-a* 'a hand (F)'.
⁵ Occasional irregularity occurs, e.g. *hōrdan aĕi beba(r)* 'take (and) carry the child'.

⁶ A destination seems always to be expressed in the direct case : *ame šav miāyām šōma ka* 'in the evening we come to your house' (cf. *key-ku* 'from the house'), *pašarā beše šar* 'the day after to-morrow go to town'; cf. also *ciya pāš* [sic] *bomeyim deh* 'after that we came to town' (Karang, op. cit., 91).

	Direct	Oblique	Possessive	Enclitic
Sg.	1. <i>az, azi</i> ¹	<i>aman</i>	<i>cama(n)</i>	<i>-m</i>
	2. <i>tō, atō</i> ²	<i>tō</i>	<i>ěště</i>	<i>-r</i>
	3. <i>a</i>	<i>ave</i>	<i>ca</i>	<i>-š</i>
Pl.	1. <i>ame</i>	<i>ame</i>	<i>came</i>	<i>-mon</i>
	2. <i>šöme</i>	<i>šöme</i>	<i>šöme</i>	<i>-ron</i>
	3. <i>ave</i>	<i>avon</i>	<i>covon</i>	<i>-šon</i>

As can be seen, as far as the pronominal system is concerned the closest of all known Tāti dialects to Kaj. is Shäh.

The oblique pronouns are used, in my limited texts, only as the agent of the verb in a 'passive' construction: *ama(n) dir nāhār beharde* 'I ate lunch late'.³

Possessive pronouns are used (i) independently: *im hörđan caman-e* 'this child is mine'; (ii) as possessive adjectives: *caman dada* 'my father', *came ka* 'our house', *ca rama* 'his herd'; (iii) as an oblique pronoun with some postpositions: *ca-rā* 'for him', *ěště-rā i pas-i-a estā* 'you have a sheep (F)' (lit., 'to thee there is . . .'), *caman-pašna* 'after me'.

Enclitic pronouns⁴ are used (i) for the agent of a past transitive verb (in this function it is attached either to the verb, e.g. *b(eh)āt-ešon* 'they said', or to one of the preceding words, wherever possible to the first word of the sentence, e.g. *nemāz-eš mehāte* 'he used to say (his) prayers', *azira-m nāhār dir beharde* 'yesterday I ate lunch late'); (ii) as an oblique pronoun: *dō-š berālęge bend* 'he had two brothers' (lit., 'to him were . . .'), *šet o panir-em hest* 'I have milk and cheese', *zānög-em o del-em medaji* 'my knee and stomach are aching', *i ruj-eš hörđ(ě)mörd tan-eš bekind* 'one day he put on (his) clothes'.⁵

VERBS

As in other Tāti dialects, the verbal system of Kaj. is based on two stems, present and past, which represent the old present stem and the participle in *-ta* respectively (*adruj-/adrut-* 'to throw', *gir-/gat-* 'to seize', (*h*)*eyz-/hešt-* 'to get up', (*h*)*ar-/hard-* 'to eat', *anjan-/anjī-* 'to cut', *des-/dehišt-* 'to look', etc.); in a number of verbs a secondary past stem in *-(e)st* is used (*gard-/gardest-* 'to turn', *niv-/nivist-* 'to rock, shake', *gah-/gahast-* 'to want, be necessary', *āres-/āreses(t)-* 'to reach', *vram-/vramest-* 'to weep', etc.). On the present stem are based the Imperative, Present Indicative, Subjunctive,

¹ *azi* is peculiar to Kaj. It varies freely with *az* and both are attested in many examples, e.g. *azi nāzošim* 'I am ill', *az har sāl nāzoš mibašem* 'I become ill every year'.

² *tō* is the regular form; once I have noted *tū* (text II); *atō* is based on the following exx.: *aman tō hic vinde? aman atō vinda ni, a(m) vinde* 'Have you ever seen me? I have not seen you (but) him I have seen', *zeyli vaxte atō-m vinda ni* 'I have not seen you for a long time'.

³ Note that the verb *gah-/gahast-* 'to want, have to' takes an obl. or encl. pron. as its agent, e.g. *avon megaha bešinde bāzār* 'they want to go to the market' (lit., it is necessary for them . . .).

⁴ When suffixed to a word ending in a consonant these pronouns are preceded by a connective *-e-*.

⁵ Of other pronominal forms the following were noted: *im* 'this (M)', *ima* 'this (F)', *injim*, obl. *injime* 'this, this one', *aĵa* 'that, that one' (see the texts).

and Conditional; the past stem is used in the Preterite and in the compound tenses.

Two sets of endings are employed, each distinguishing three persons in Sg. and Pl., with a distinction of Masc. and Fem. in the third person singular:

	Present	Preterite
Sg. 1.	-(e)m	-im
2.	-i	-i
3M.	-e	-(e)
F.	-ia	-ā
Pl. 1.	-ām	-imon
2.	-ā	-iron
3.	-end(e)	-(y)inde, -end(e)

The Preterite endings are identical with the enclitic Present of the copula: *nāxoš-im*, *nāxoš-i* 'I am ill, thou art ill', etc.

The *Imperative* is formed by adding the stressed prefix *b(e)*-¹ to the present stem with the endings 2nd Sg. zero, pl. -ā, e.g. *bōvram* 'weep!', *benda(r)* 'stay!, wait!', *bebaš* 'be!, remain!' (cf. *mibašem* 'I become'), *banjan* 'cut!', *bežanā* 'hit ye!', *bediā* 'give ye!', but *ara-gi* 'buy!'.²

The *Present Indicative*, used for both present and future, is formed by adding the unstressed prefix *m(e)*- to the present stem followed by the present endings, e.g. *memarem* 'I die', *mišim* 'I go', *mō:se* 'he sleeps', *marria* 'she eats'. A *Continuous Present* is formed by adding the particle *kore* after the Pres. Indic.,³ e.g. *az mišim kore raz* 'I am going to the garden', *medaji*⁴ *kore* 'it is aching'.

The *Present Subjunctive* is formed in the same way as the Pres. Indic., but with the stressed prefix *b(e)*-⁵ in place of *m(e)*-, e.g. *bemarem* '(that) I die', *bekare* '(that) he does'.

The *Present Conditional* consists of the present stem preceded by the prefix *b(e)*-, unstressed, and followed by the conditional suffix -ā- and the enclitic present of the copula⁶ (the initial -i- becoming -y- after -ā-), e.g. *age az bevrijāym* 'if I run, should I run', *age a behösā* 'if he sleeps, should he sleep', *age bebašāymon* 'if we become'. A *Perfect Conditional* is formed by employing the Pres. Cond. of the verb 'to be' in combination with the past participle, e.g. *age virita bāym* 'should I have run'.

The *Preterite* of intransitive verbs is formed by adding the preterite endings

¹ In all tenses *b(e)*- is dropped when the verb has a preverb.

² I have a curious form in my notes, *pason ābāst* 'tether the sheep!', which I find difficult to explain.

³ cf. *kerā* in Shāh. and S. Tāl.; in Asālemi *kora bamam* 'I am coming (immediately)', *korəm ome* 'I am (in the process of) coming' (cf. Yarshater, op. cit., 60).

⁴ -i under the palatalizing effect of -j?

⁵ The stress is lost if the Subj. is used in a conditional sense.

⁶ In the 3rd Sg. the copula coalesces with the suffix -ā. More often the Subjunctive is used for the Conditional.

to the past stem, which is preceded by an unstressed *b(e)-*, the stress falling on the last syllable of the stem, e.g. *bevritim* 'I ran', *bebeym* 'I became', *bomiā* 'she came', *avar-āma* 'he came out'. With transitive verbs the past participle is used for all persons, the agent being expressed in the obl. case, as in Shāh., e.g. *zāron-em non beharde* 'my sons ate bread (food)', *azira-m gužd beharde* 'yesterday I ate meat'. When the logical direct object is in the plural, however, the preterite plural endings are occasionally used, e.g. *vargon pase behardend* 'the wolves ate the sheep', *hördmörde-š tan bekardend* 'he put on his clothes'.

The *Imperfect* is formed and behaves like the Preterite in all respects, except that it has *m(e)-* instead of *b(e)-*, e.g. *harruje . . . mehešte, nemāzeš mehāte* 'every day he used to get up and say his prayers'. When the verbal stem has a preverb *m(e)-* follows it and is reduced to a nasal, assimilated to the following sound, e.g. *dovā-m ara-n-ga [æraŋgæ] cāk ā-m-bestim* 'I used to get an amulet and get well'.¹

The *Perfect* seems often to be indistinguishable from the Preterite. In principle, the Perfect consists of the past participle (of which the final vowel is then stressed) and the Present of the copula, e.g. *dāron ow āhar'de yā na* '(whether) the trees have been watered or not' (lit., 'have drunk water'), *bi'a nim* 'I have not become' (cf. *bebeym* 'I became'), *āmi'eyron* 'you have come'.

The *Pluperfect* consists of the form of the past participle as used in the Perfect, followed by the Preterite of the auxiliary verb 'to be', e.g. *bi'a bem* 'I had become', *har'da-m be* 'I had eaten'.

A Passive Preterite is formed by adding *-ist(e)* (M), *-istā* (F) to the present stem, e.g. *divār āškājist, tanāf ad(e)rujist* 'the wall was rent asunder (and) the rope was thrown down', *agiristā, bebaristā* 'she was taken (and) carried (away)', *im pul bedehiste Hasane* 'this money was given to Hasan'.²

The *Infinitive* is formed by adding *-(a)n* to the past stem, e.g. *gatan* 'to take, seize', *anjān* 'to cut', *deyan* 'to give', *iškistan* 'to break'.

An *Agent* noun is formed by adding *-ār* either to the past stem, e.g. *heriār* 'buyer', *biār* 'one who becomes',³ *žeyār* 'one who hits', or to the present stem, e.g. *pajār* 'one who cooks', *kārār* 'sower'.

A *Future Participle* is formed by adding *-in* to the Infinitive, e.g. *hardanin* '(fit) to be eaten', *šianin* 'destined to go, to perish', *mondani(n)* 'going to live, fit to live on'; a *Passive Participle* is formed of the present stem and the suffix *-is'ta*, e.g. *pajista* 'cooked', *kusista* 'beaten, ground', *ākr(e)nista* 'drawn' (cf. Passive Pret. above).

¹ cf. the Pres. Indic. of Tākestāni, where *m(e)-* is regularly treated as above: *ā-n-xārem* 'I drink' (Čāli *ā-mi-xōrōm*), *o-n-gorem(e)* 'I lift'. Unfortunately I have no example of any Kaj. Pres. Indic. with a preverb, to decide if this rule holds good there too.

² Professor Henning suggests that this ending may derive from the MPers. passive past in *-ihist*.

³ *im kāleg-a rām biār nia* 'this cat (F) is not apt to be tamed'.

TEXTS¹

I

Hasan kajal-ej be. dō-š berālēg-e bend, se howli-e. i ruj-eš hörđ(ē)mörd tan-eš be-kard, tikali-š non be-hard, bil-eš bar-e paš-ku a-gat-ā, key-ku avar-āma beyna. howlig-eš b(e)-hāt, 'aku mi-ši?' b(e)-hāt-eš, 'mi-ši-m raz, bin-em dār-on ow ā-hard-e yā na. šēmi-an² injā be-mān-ā, pas-e vāš be-di-ā, šet-eš bü-duš-ā, bü-glān-ā, šet-e tuk-eš gerd ā-ker-ā piāl-a mion. tika-ni cāqla o asif becin-ā tā azi ā-gard-em'. bāt-ešon, 'xeyli cāk. tō-ni vaxti ke ā-gard-est-i tike-i nemak ara-gi. katto žan-a bāj, "ame šav mi-āy-ām šēme ka"'.

Mammad, Hasan-e mimi-zā, gala-von be. sad pas-e, panj mā-gow-e, cuār gow-š-e, dō-š-an esbe (h)ā-be-nde³ varg-a ca rama n-ar-r-e. šav-on cāder-a mion-da mö-höt-e har-ruj-e sob-i me-hešt-e, nemāz-eš m(e)-hāt-e, pas-eš-e me-bard-en(d) ku.

Hasan-e Mammad rā-da be-hind-e. b(e)-hāt-eš, 'xeyli vaxt-e atō-m vind-a ni. aku mi-ši?' b(e)-hāt-eš, 'mi-ši-m šar, šet o panir-em hest bō:ruš-em. im non-an ke nane-m pat-e eštē-rā-m ā-varđ-e. m-āj-ende hiš-kas-i caman nane-soti non ne-m-paj-e. katto m(e)-hāt-e non pat-an o karav gat-an o šal vat-an o gandem ku(v)est-an o hörđan-e šet dey-an o pašm-a rišt-an o hörđmörd šurd-an o lef-jiga jir-ā-kard-an o berenj owjī-an o govās avrāšt-an o jüz iškist-an o vājām pust ā-kard-an o nira nivist-an o rešte anjī-an o marju eyvat-an o kuja owži-an⁴ Mammad-e nana-ku hama be-ga b-āmij-inde'.

Hasan-e b(e)-hāt, 'caman howlig-e non pat-an-er vind-a ni-e. age vind-a-r be ni-m-gah-ast-e hiš-kas-e non bar-r-i. ašo(v)on-a bure be-š-ām came ka, arā yā paš-arā be-še šar'.

Mammad šav be-še Hasan-e ka. im ši-an o mi-an bāes be-be Hasan-e howli-š-a kābin be-kard-e.

Hasan was from Kajal. He had two brothers (and) three sisters. One day he put on (his) clothes, ate a little bread, took his spade (F) from behind the door, (and) went out from the house. His sister said, 'Where are you going?' He said, 'I am going in the garden to see (if) the trees are watered or not. You stay here, feed⁵ the sheep, milk it,⁶ boil (its milk), collect its cream,⁷ pour (it) in a bowl; also pick some apricot(s) and apple(s) till I come back'. They said, 'Very good, and you, on your way back,⁸ buy a little salt, (and) tell the village headman's wife, "To-night we are coming to your house"'

Mohammad, Hasan's cousin, was a shepherd. He had a hundred sheep, five cows, and four oxen. He also had two dogs (so that) the wolves⁹ should not eat his herd. In the nights he would sleep in a tent. Every day he would get up in the morning, say (his) prayer(s), (and) take his sheep to the mountain.

¹ An attempt has been made to separate the morphemes by a hyphen, except when merging of sounds has obscured morpheme boundaries, or in case of doubt.

² cf. *dō-š-an, non-an* below.

³ I take *h-* to be an intrusive glide, cf. *(h)ara-gir-em, be-(h)ā, aja-(h)a* below.

⁴ Also *owjīan* (Imperative *owjan, owžan*, Pret. *ow'ja, ow'ža*) 'to cast dung to dry it for fuel' (< **jan*); cf. *owjīan* above (Imperative *'owji*, Pret. *ow'ji*) 'to pick (rice) clean' (< **ži*).

⁵ Lit., 'give grass to'.

⁶ Lit., 'milk its milk'.

⁷ Lit., 'top of the milk'.

⁸ Lit., 'when you came back'.

⁹ Lit., 'wolf'.

Hasan saw Mohammad on the way (and) said, ' I have not seen you for a long time ; where are you going ? ' He said, ' I am going to town to sell the milk and the cheese I have. And this bread, baked by my mother, I have brought for you. They say no one bakes bread like my mother. The village headman used to say that all must learn from Mohammad's mother (how) to bake bread and churn butter¹ and weave ' shāls ' ² and thresh wheat and suckle babies and spin wool and wash clothes and prepare the bed³ and pick clean the rice and spread the millet and break walnut(s)⁴ and peel⁵ aubergines and rock ' nira ' ⁶ and cut ' reshte ' ⁷ and pick lentil(s) and make dried dung⁸ '.

Hasan said, ' You have not seen the bread-baking of my sister ; if you had seen you would not have wanted to eat anyone else's bread. To-night, come, let us go to our house, (and) to-morrow or after to-morrow go to town ! '

Mohammad went to Hasan's house for the evening. This going and coming occasioned his contracting a marriage with Hasan's sister.

II °

Dō žaneg-e bend i hōrdan-e sar-da darvā-šon a-kkat. be-ši-nde afandi var-ku. afandi b(e)-hāt, ' cici-rā āme-yron injā ? ' b(e)-hāt-(e)šon, ' cem¹⁰ hōrdan-e sar-da darvā-mon be-be ' . iš-a¹¹ ā-gard-est-ā, b(e)-hāt-eš, ' im hōrdan caman-e, hama me-zon-and im hōrdan caman-e ' . cavar-a ā-gard-est-ā, b(e)-hāt-eš, ' im-a duru vāj-ia, hōrdan caman-e ' .

Afandi b(e)-hāt, ' jallād-e vāng be-žan-ā b(e)-hā injim hōrdan-e dō para be-kar-e, i para-š be-deh-a injim-e, i para-š be-deh-a aja-ha ' . jallād b-āma. žani-on i-a, vaxt-i ke jallād-eš b(e)-hind, bendar vram-est-an, b(e)-hāt-eš, ' caman hōrdan ma koš-ā ' . cavar-in žaneg-a hic nō:ram-est-ā, hic-eš ne-m-āt, ajua vendard-a bi-a, me-dehišt-ā.

Afandi, vaxt-i ke be-hind-e žani-on i-a me-vram-ia, bē-zon-est-eš hōrdan-e nana a vā.¹² hōrdan-eš ara-gat, bē-dā-š injim žaneg-a, b(e)-hāt-eš, ' hōrdan-e nana tü-yra. hōrdan a-gi, be-ba ' . afandi b(e)-hāt, ' aja žaneg-e be-žan-ā tā duru n-āj-ia ' .

There were two women (who) fell to quarrelling about a child. They went to a judge.¹³ The judge said, ' What have you come here for ? ' They said,

¹ Lit., ' take butter '.

² Wide sashes, usually of wool.

³ Lit., ' to throw down the bed '.

⁴ i.e. to get the kernel, when the walnut is still green.

⁵ Lit., ' to open the skin '.

⁶ An earthenware jar used for churning milk by rocking it, v. Yarshater, op. cit., 63.

⁷ Ribbon vermicelli made with wheat flour, cf. Tākestāni *banjia* ' reshte '.

⁸ For fuel.

⁹ For versions in related dialects, see *Gr. ir. Ph.*, I, 2, 376 ff., and Yarshater, op. cit., 67.

¹⁰ i.e. *ce-im* ' that this ' ?

¹¹ *iš-a* fem. to **iš* ' one ' ? Cf. *ia* fem. of *i* ' one ' ; Tākestāni *iš ve iš ne-ve*, NPers. equivalent *yeki bud yeki nabud*.

¹² Elsewhere *bia* was regularly given for ' she was '.

¹³ *afandi* is also used in Asālem for divines.

'We have quarrelled about this child'. One (of them) turned (and) said, 'This child is mine, everybody knows this child is mine'. The other turned (and) said, 'This woman is lying, the child is mine'.

The judge said, 'Call ye the executioner to come (and) halve this child (and) give one piece to this one and one piece to the other one'. The executioner came. When one of the women saw the executioner she began to weep (and) said, 'Do not kill my child'. The other woman did not weep at all (and) would not say anything; she was standing there (and) was looking (on).

When the judge saw that one of the women was weeping¹ he realized that she was the child's mother. He took the child, gave it to this woman (and) said, 'You are² the child's mother. Take the child (and) carry (it away)'. (Then) the judge said, 'Beat ye that woman so that she does not lie (any more)'

III

Appāra azi mariz be-beym. be-še-m hakim-e-var-ku davā (h)ara-gir-em. hakim be-hāt-e, 'kerom var-er me-daj-i?' be-hāt-em, 'caš-em o zānēg-em o del-em me-daj-i kore'. hakim be-hāt-e, 'appāra mariz bia-ber?' be-hāt-em, 'na, ammā berālēg-em se mā gonšār mariz ben(d), pašta hamma cāk ā-bende'.

Last year I became ill. I went to the doctor to get (some) medicine. The doctor said, 'Which side of you is aching?' I said, 'My eye and my knee and my stomach are aching'. The doctor said, 'Had you become ill last year?' I said, 'No, but my brothers were ill three months ago, then they all became well'.

Az har-ruj-a dō sāat mendard-em rā me-dehišt-em.

Every day for two hours I used to stay and watch the road.

Caman dada har-ruj-a meiz-e, hörd(ē)mörd-on-eš tan mi-kar-e, nemāz-eš m-āj-e, mi-ši raz.

Every day my father gets up, puts on his clothes, says his prayer(s), (and) goes to the garden.

Caman nana har-ruj-a meiz-ia, hörd(ē)mörd-on-eš tan mi-kar-ia, nemāz-eš m-āj-ia, mi-šia raz.

Every day my mother . . . etc.

Berālēg-em azira be-hešt-e, hördmörd-eš tan be-kard-e, nemāz-eš be-hāt, be-še raz.

My brother got up yesterday, put on his clothes, said his prayer(s), (and) went to the garden.

Howliq-em-a azira be-hešt-ā, hördmörd-eš tan be-kard-e, nemāz-eš be-hāt, be-šia raz.

My sister . . . etc.

¹ Lit., 'weeps'.

² -ra in *tū-yra* is difficult to account for.